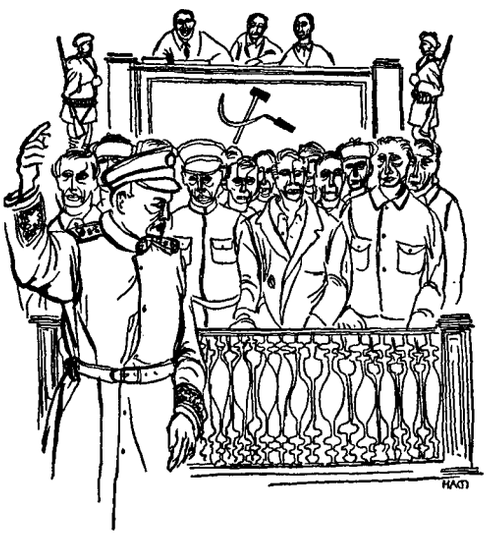
LABOR UNION PLURALISM

—Michael P. Fogarty

THE

Commonweal



Man's Anguish and His Hope

by Jan Cep

Church and State in Guatemala

by Daniel James

Writing in the Welfare State

by Herbert Howarth

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[Contains Index to Volume LXII]

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THE COMMONWEAL
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The Commonweal

week by week

THERE IS NO PEACE

NIKITA S. Khrushchev is a remarkable man. Any doubts about this should have been dispelled by his September 17 address to the East-German delegates to Moscow. At a banquet for the German Communists, Mr. Khrushchev made a public profession of faith in the ultimate triumph of his cause. His remarks were impassioned, and they provide us with a reliable guide to the post-Geneva world.

Mr. Khrushchev observed that since the Geneva Conference people in the West have talked about how the Soviet leaders now smile. "That smile is genuine," the Communist leader declared. "It is not artificial. We wish to live in peace, tranquilly." But, he warned, "if anyone believes that our smiles involve abandonment of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin he deceives himself poorly. Those who wait for that must wait until a shrimp learns to whistle."

The Soviet government does not seek to convert others to Communism by force, Mr. Khrushchev said, and Soviet leaders therefore believe in the "coexistence" of the Capitalist and Communist systems. But the Soviet Union has no doubts, either, that eventually its own system will win the world. "Go your way then," Mr. Khrushchev told the Western countries, "until you see it is the way of the blind. We shall continue to progress along the road of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which is as clear as a sunny day."

"To whom belongs the future?" Mr. Khrushchev asked. He then made clear his unshakable conviction that the future belongs to him. There will be no major war, he thinks, because world Communism will achieve its goals without recourse to arms. But cold war or cold peace, "coexistence" or conflict, achieve its goals it will. For, according to Mr. Khrushchev, the Communist Party holds the future in its hands, and those who oppose Communism in the name of Capitalism are fighting for what is already a corpse.

It is reported that twice during this speech Marshal Bulganin made cautious attempts to restrain Mr. Khrushchev. We can be grateful that he did not succeed, because we are now dramatically warned of what, since Geneva, we have tended to forget: what we face here is not some rival political power but rather a total mystique, one that looks toward the Communization of the world with the same confidence that Christians feel when they look toward the life of the world to come.

With such a foe there can be no positive coexistence; there can be only the negative agreement to abstain from mutual non-existence: there can be only coexistence in fear, until one of the rival systems — the Communist or the Judeo-Christian, humanist world—changes completely or disappears.

IN view of the unalterable nature of the struggle, so vividly pointed up in Mr. Khrushchev's address, what should one make of the Communists' post-Geneva line? What does one say, for example, of the September 14 edition of the *Daily Worker*, which reprints, in full, a strongly anti-Communist editorial from The Commonweal, and then comments on it in terms so sweet and reasonable that one would almost think he were reading the New York *Times*?

In the editorial which the *Worker* reprinted we said that if the *Worker* should write something true (as it did this summer in the case of the Louisiana sugar strike) we would admit that it is true, and we observed that The Commonweal would never be against something merely because the Communist Party is for it.

But, we noted—and this was the point of our editorial—"The Commonweal never has, and never will, 'praise' the *Worker* for anything, because this magazine knows too well the poisonous motives behind all of the Communist paper's works. . . . Everything the *Worker* represents remains hateful to what this magazine stands for, and no friendship between us could ever be possible."

How did the *Daily Worker* react to this declaration? Was it angry? Of course not: this is the era

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when Communists never get angry. The *Worker* therefore responded by talking the language of the popular front.

"We . . . have no illusions about The Commonweal's basic ideological position," the *Worker* stated. "But," it said, "we stress that the big public issues before America today are not Capitalism vs. Communism or Catholicism vs. Communism, as some would have it. The issues are peace, jobs, economic security and protection of civil rights and liberties. We are more interested in underscoring those immediate issues upon which we, The Commonweal and many, many others have a common ground than in harping on the ideological concepts that divide us."

To this kind invitation to collaborate with the *Daily Worker* on "the big public issues before America" The Commonweal, without regret, says no. We do not believe for one moment that the *Daily Worker* gives the slightest damn for peace, jobs, economic security or civil liberties—except on its own terms, which are the terrible terms made clear in Mr. Khrushchev's speech. We know that the *Worker* would cheerfully encourage war, break strikes, sabotage the economy and violate every civil liberty in the land if this would serve Communism's cause. If it got the word from Moscow tomorrow, the *Worker* would try to make Senator McCarthy look like Tom Paine just as, if it got the word tomorrow, it would denounce The Commonweal for "war-mongering" words it now chooses to ignore.

We will therefore continue to insist on "the ideological concepts that divide us" even if the *Worker* now finds it good strategy to play them down. The *Worker* is right when it says that the issue today is not Communism vs. Capitalism. The issue is much more profound than that: it is Communism vs. man, and we will continue to emphasize that.

It may seem a long way from the frank dogmatism of Nikita Khrushchev's speech to the disarming flexibility of the *Daily Worker's* editorial on The Commonweal—yet it is really not very far. The *Worker* is flexible these days only for the dogmatic reasons outlined by Mr. Khrushchev. Next month or next year its tactics may again change. What will not change is the struggle between two irreconcilable views of man and society, and in this struggle there exists no neutral ground. We are all involved in it for the duration.

NEXT WEEK

CHRISTOPHER RAND writes about political tensions involving Afghanistan.

"Afghanistan is a beautiful land, rather like our Western mountain states—Nevada, for instance. She has beautiful horses—better than those of any other country now, perhaps. Yet she has no surfaced roads, and the main highway to Kabul is only a track—often washed out in flood season—over the dirt and rocks. Many Afghans go in rags, and one gathers that only great fortitude sees them through the bitter winters. (The Kabul schools take their long vacations in the winter, so the students won't have to endure the frigid classrooms then.) Afghanistan is a tough, hard, backward mountain country, and as usual in such cases her people have the name of Dead End Kids among their richer neighbors."

GRAECO-TURKISH RIFT

TO undo now what has been wrought by colonial conquest is invariably studded with difficulties. The reluctance of the ruling power to let go is but the first of many obstacles, some of them created by the subjugation itself and others due to innate weaknesses which the colonial authorities were not sufficiently willing, or were actually unable, to overcome. Such difficulties of transition are encountered everywhere—in North Africa, the East Indies, the mainland of Southeast Asia and in the Middle East. The island of Cyprus presents a whole series of special difficulties.

Stragetically, Cyprus lies primarily within the Turkish orbit; also about one-fifth of its inhabitants are of Turkish origin. The vast majority of the island's residents are Greek in origin and Orthodox in religion. It is this majority, with its political and religious leaders, which has been agitating so vehemently for independence from Great Britain. It is this preponderant group which makes it certain that a plebiscite would result in a mandate for union with Greece.

Because such a result would ensue, the parleys between British and Cypriots on ending the island's colonial status provoked wholesale outrages against Greek and Armenian shops, homes and churches in Istanbul and Smyrna early this month. The extent of this wanton destruction is just now beginning to be realized in the outside world. There is reason to believe that the demonstrations were encouraged by the Turkish authorities, even though, once begun, the disorders got out of hand.

This is the worst blow yet suffered by the NATO defenses in the eastern Mediterranean. In recent months Tito has been regarded increasingly as a doubtful military ally; indeed since the Belgrade

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visit of the Russian leaders he has been assiduously seeking to confine the Balkan pact to economic and cultural cooperation. But Greece and Turkey, although traditional adversaries of long standing, have been staunch defenders of their area for the past three decades. It was to determined Greece and Turkey that Mr. Truman so rightly dispatched important material aid early in the cold war.

Secretary Dulles has been quick to urge calm upon the two aroused nations and to emphasize the stake of both Turkey and Greece in the maintenance of NATO's eastern bastion. Premier Menderes has offered his regrets to the leaders of the Greek community in his land, but adequate reparation is due. The NATO powers have to see what they can do to strengthen both allies internally, for at this tense moment Greece suffers from political instability and Turkey from severe inflation. NATO authorities must work overtime to iron out these differences. And since in this day and age the island is not slated to remain outside the Greek orbit contrary to the wishes of the great majority of its inhabitants indefinitely, the Turks must somehow be prepared to accept what is inevitable, with strong inducements to do so.

GUILTY GENES

FIRST the Landy case turned up. This involved a young man who was denied a Navy commission simply because of his mother's suspect politics. Then it was disclosed that the Coast Guard had the Gaston case, and this again involved a man who was denied a commission for exactly the same reason. And finally it turned out that the Air Force was in the act, too; until publicity changed the decision, the Air Force denied an enlisted man an honorable discharge, once more because of his mother's political affiliations. Now a Congressional hearing is slated on this entire question of guilt-by-kinship, and there is no telling how many more such cases will be turned up.

For our part, aside from noting the unexpectedly high incidence of political activity among American mothers, we would simply say that we think the publicity given to this question is all to the good. We know that some commentators are working hard to defend the practice of hereditary guilt, but we can see no valid arguments for it, and we doubt that the American people will take to it kindly. If a man has relatives behind the Iron Curtain who could be held as hostages in an effort to put pressure on him, that fact has a definite bearing in considering him for a sensitive post. But under normal circumstances it certainly seems to us that an American citizen should not have to suffer unjust penalties for political beliefs entertained by his relatives and over which he has no control. To say otherwise seems to us more characteristic of Soviet than Anglo-Saxon justice.

THE LEGION AND THE FUND

ON September 11, the national commander of the American Legion, Seaborn P. Collins, lashed out at the Fund for the Republic, charging that it attempted "to persuade Americans that Communism is not, and never has been, a serious threat to the United States." The attack, which promises to continue, raises issues beyond those to which Mr. Collins addressed himself, for it questions the nature and responsibility of all tax-exempt foundations.

The Fund for the Republic was set up by the Ford Foundation in 1951 to study civil liberties and individual freedom in the United States. Its express purpose, according to Robert M. Hutchins, the fund president, is to defend the American principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

To this end the fund finances projects for the investigation of significant areas of American life, and the directors of the various projects develop their own policies independently of the foundation. Current projects include a study of blacklisting in entertainment industries, and an analysis of testimony given in proceedings related to Communism.

In his attack, Mr. Collins singled out Mr. Hutchins rather than any single project. Mr. Hutchins, he declared, had expressed views which unfitted him for the task of molding public opinion. As a result, he said, the fund teaches that apparently anti-Communist forces threaten the civil liberties of all Americans, that security measures are being used to harass innocent people, and that the ignorant are kept unaware of these things by evil demagogues.

We feel that Mr. Collins has missed his mark, that the fund is performing a vital function in our society today. We feel that civil liberties *are* threatened when a person is labelled "controversial" because of irresponsible and unsubstantiated charges, that security measures *do* harass innocent people when "association with their parents" affects their position in society and the very means of their existence, and that demagogues do mislead both the ignorant and the learned concerning these things.

If Mr. Collins wishes his accusations to be taken seriously, he must do more than make blanket

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charges. He must show that tax-exempt foundations and the funds which they support do not flow naturally from our free enterprise system as Mr. Hutchins claims they do, or he must show that the findings of the fund projects are unsound or misleading, that we have reason to doubt the validity of their conclusions. This is exactly what Irving Breakstone, a past commander of the Illinois Department of the Legion, has called upon him to do. Mr. Breakstone further pointed out that the fund was a principal supporter of the Legion's Americanism program in Illinios, a program which Mr. Collins praised.

The Fund for the Republic has been receiving increasingly severe criticism; that from the Legion is the most sweeping. But so far we find none that is telling. The proper target must be selected before an honest hit can be made.

KEY VOTES

THE Democrats have at last found an issue. It is not within miles of affecting President Eisenhower's chances, nor will it figure much in Congressional contests in certain of our most populous states. But the continued decline of farm income—down another four per cent for the first six months of this year—has persuaded the Democratic strategists to open up a barrage on Administration farm policy, with the solid hope of capturing enough seats from farm states and farming districts to insure their party's continued control of both Houses. Secretary Benson is replying in kind; the American farmer will have a peck full of campaign promises.

Effective war, and immediate postwar, demand for our farm products has dried up and there is nothing to replace it. Curtailed acreages are counterbalanced by increased yields. Hence surpluses continue to mount, prices and income to sag. Some experts say that there are too many American farmers, while others hold that crowding into already congested areas provides no acceptable solution. But the politicians, advancing various types of price supports, keep their eyes on those key votes.

NEW ATTACK ON SLUMS

AMERICAN cities are riddled by slums, but outside of a few elected officials and the people who have to live in blighted areas, comparatively few people seem to be aware of the extent and gravity of the problem. Now advocates of slum clearance have been joined by a new and potent ally, the Advertising Council—the industry's public service agency which recently announced that it has undertaken a three million dollar advertising campaign "directed at eliminating and preventing slums in cities and suburbs," in cooperation with the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods.

It is true that many problems of slum clearance cannot be solved on a neighborhood or local level, but some can, and no larger action is possible without the backing of an aroused public opinion. The necessity of prompt action is emphasized by some figures released with the Advertising Council's announcement. Twenty million of the nation's fifty-five million dwellings urgently require repairs and improvements; as many as five million slum dwellings need to be demolished entirely and new buildings erected in their place. Over the years, American advertising has won an international reputation for its prodigious success in selling; we can all hope that in awakening the American public to the need for drastic action on housing it will be as successful as it has been in selling toothpaste.

POVERTY AND PLENTY

MALTHUS raised the twin specters of overpopulation and starvation one hundred and fifty years ago. They have haunted men ever since —and with reason, for despite the great technological advances that characterize the modern world, countries like India and China are still swept by periodic famines.

As far as the actual production of food goes, the situation has been improving steadily in recent years. This month, for example, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization issued an encouraging report on the post-war decade. Food production, the FAO said, is actually increasing faster than world population growth. Adequate figures were not available from the Communist bloc, but in the rest of the world agricultural production was more than twenty-five per cent greater in 1954 than in 1946-47.

Ironically, however, the rest of the story is one of hunger in a world of plenty. Although vast agricultural surpluses exist in a few countries like the United States and Canada, millions still do not get enough to eat in other areas. Thus the FAO report seems to be one more confirmation of this basic fact: man can produce enough food for everyone, but the present stage of world political and social organization is not yet adequate to the task of equitable distribution. The fault lies, not with Nature, but with man.

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Man's Anguish and His Hope

"ONLY NOW ARE WE EXPERIENCING WHAT IT IS TO STAND DEFENSELESS BEFORE AN EVIL WILL OF IRON"

JAN CEP

Translated by Edward Cech

(Translator's note: *During its moments of freedom in recent decades the Czechoslovak Republic was the scene of a Catholic revival, related to and resembling similar movements in France and elsewhere in more ways than in name only. The leading representatives of the literary aspect of this movement included such names as Jan Cep, Jaroslav Durych, Jan Zabradnicek and others. Of these, Jan Cep, author of* Hranice stínu (Boundary of Shadow) *and translator of Bernanos, is the only one to have escaped to the West since the beginning of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia. At present he is a member of the staff of Radio Free Europe and lives in Paris with his wife and their children. With regard to the essays written in exile, of which the following is one, Cep has said: "They will not be read, of course, by those to whom they are addressed, in whose place I have tried to think aloud. I hope, however, that my readers in exile will find in these pages an echo of their own anxieties and hopes, that they will remain for the future as a testimony of these tragic times."*)

THE present post-Christian, materialistic ideologies, and especially the ideology of Marxist Communism, are characterized not only by their complete rejection of the transcendental, of all mystery and of the supernatural order, but also by their elimination, from the natural order, of the sacredness that surrounded the existence of things and the life of man in authentic pagan civilizations.

Marxism, for example, maintains that it has possession of definite scientific knowledge of the laws of the evolution of life and human society, and that it is next to being able to completely direct human destiny and fill it with meaning. Soviet science displays the same self-sufficient optimism, the same naive pride which shone from time to time—though not so generally nor with the accent of such conceited boasting—in the positivists of the nineteenth century.

As if the fact that I know—very approximately and very roughly, at that—some of the physical and biological laws of life, know of what substances matter and a living organism is composed, know roughly how matter and living organisms behave under certain conditions, as if this incomplete knowledge gave into my hands the very mystery of life, of the origin and duration of things and of men, and especially the meaning of their existence, their final end.

On the basis of this knowledge I may, for example, know what a tree is, the appearance and composition of the seed from which this or that tree grows, which mineral substances it assimilates and how it transforms them within itself, the distribution of functions among the roots, the texture of the wood and the leaves; all this I may know, more or less, and still I stand amazed before that living reality called a tree, before that living, rustling thing to which an unsearchable power has given this wonderful and inimitable form, in whose silence it seems as if some ineffable language has been captured. A lone tree in the countryside, a tree in the middle of the forest, in the dark of night or at sunset, in the bareness of winter or in the soft veil of spring foliage—stands before me as a thing unexplained, a mysterious thing to which my imagination and my heart strangely respond.

In like manner geology or astronomy can inform me of the origin of the mountains and waters, of the laws by which the courses of the stars are directed. This knowledge, however, leaves untouched and unexplained my amazement at the miracle of a spring spouting from the depths of the earth, my amazement before the hard forms of the Alps raising their mass against the sky, before the solemn solitude of the oceans, before the silent magnificence of the starry constellations whose luminous dance is mysteriously interwoven with the destiny of man.

And what, finally, can all of sociology, or all individual and collective psychology tell me of what man really is, of what takes place deep in his con-

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sciousness and his heart—how will it explain to me the relationship between his material nature and his insatiable desire for knowledge, for love and for eternity?

THE authentic pagan man, the man of the pre-Christian civilization, deeply sensed the mystery of life and of the universe that surrounded him; he tried to solve the veiled language of things and the meaning of human destiny. The heritage of Greek and Roman myths whose roots, moreover, penetrate deeply into the strata of previous cultures and into the ancient memory of mankind is to us a testimony of how alive in ancient pagan man was that which we call the sense of the sacred. Pagan man stood with veneration before nature, before the reproductive power of the earth and of living beings. This cult of fertility could at times degenerate into obscene concepts and practices, it was possible to trifle with it frivolously, but its origin and true character bear witness to the deeply-rooted feeling that the very reality of life is something that surpasses man.

In this atmosphere which we can only call religious, human fate was also submerged. The word fate was a big word in the language of ancient paganism. Fate was the only truly supreme divinity which governed gods and men, an inaccessible and, in a certain higher sense, a just divinity, even when it incomprehensibly broke human lives. Fate is the supreme lord and incorruptible judge in the tragedy of Aeschylus and Sophocles; there was no man who could present himself before him as innocent; but, strange to say, the man cast down by him, in his fall attained to a mysterious grandeur, his sublime likeness.

The concept of fate, furthermore, in the last centuries of pagan antiquity is purified and cleansed along with other religious notions, with faith in a single divinity, in the immortality of the human soul. It may be said that Socrates and Plato among the Greeks, as well as Vergil later among the Romans, were monotheists. Modern scholars and philosophers who are again concerning themselves with the works of the Roman poet of the first century before Christ, point out the purified and cleansed character of Vergil's piety, in the eyes of which fate is no longer a blind and irresponsible force, but the supreme wisdom, even that which Christians call, in the true sense of the word, Providence. The role of the highest of the gods, Jupiter, and the concept of Fate, blend, so to speak. Jupiter himself is consistently designated in the Aeneid by the word, "Pater," Father; it is not possible to reconcile with his image any sort of arbitrary cruelty or human whim such as we still see in Homer several centuries earlier.

We meet, in addition, with this type of pagan piety in the second great poet of the time of Augustus, Vergil's friend, Horace, who is often erroneously interpreted as a typical epicurean. Horace himself in one of his odes bears witness to the fact that in certain circles of Roman society the sense of the presence of God was not rare. Referring to a certain incident that he experienced, Horace writes: "I was a selfish and negligent worshipper of the gods, and I went to a false wisdom for counsel; but now I am forced to change directions and again follow the road that I abandoned."

THERE is no doubt that the need for awareness of the presence of God and the need for union with God sometimes misled the religious instinct of pagan man, but this instinct was an ineradicable part of his being, just as it is generally a part of any authentic, genuine man. Modern materialistic atheism would have seemed incomprehensible and hideous to the pious Vergil, just as the philosophy of Lucretius was unacceptable to him. We are, besides, witnesses of the fact that not even modern Marxist atheism has been able to avoid enshrining its own divinities, more cruel and more inexorable than the divinities of the ancient pagans.

But the state of spiritual and physical tyranny into which the totalitarian Communist regimes have plunged a large part of the world cannot truly last. The reasons that enable and compel us to anticipate the final destruction of the Communist reign of terror are in part external, in part internal.

Communist tyranny is doomed to fall partly for its political and authoritarian instability, partly—and perhaps more—for its internal weakness, ideologically and spiritually speaking. The world which the Communists are trying to create for man and the manner in which they are trying to transform man himself are opposed to the laws of human nature, to the deepest needs of the human being, to his mission and destiny. Marxist Communism bears within itself the germ of inevitable death, just as it is contained within monstrous organisms grown unnaturally rampant or artificially raised in opposition to the given and created laws of life.

This certainty, however, should not lead us to impotent resignation to fate, to passive waiting. Time will stop for none of us, and time is the irrecoverable matter from which not only our earthly life is formed, but from which each of us here on earth creates his eternity. We cannot skip with impunity over any part of our lives as a thankless and inconvenient provisional arrangement, if we are not to be likened to the servant who buried the talent entrusted to him.

It is true that under the conditions and in the atmosphere that the Marxist reign of terror has created

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in the lands subjected to it, everything has become incomparably more difficult than in the normal and free world. The claw of continual uncertainty and anxiety goes deep into the heart, broad daylight has become a stifling nightmare. Joy has become difficult, hope has become hard. A paralyzing weight lies on every thought, on every word, on every deed. It is necessary to exert a disproportionate amount of energy simply to stay above water.

And still it is demanded of us not only that we hold our ground, but also that we do not cease to deepen and enrich ourselves spiritually, that we grow in wisdom and in love. On the one hand it is necessary that we, no matter what happens, maintain our interior freedom, that we place a certain distance between ourselves and the daily reality of tyranny. On the other hand, however, we cannot and must not break away from this reality if we are not to find ourselves in a breathless vacuum. Being internally free, we cannot place ourselves outside the

cruel and suffering world that has become our temporary lot. We must accept it, cling to its rough surface, make it our own. The way of our interior growth leads only through its hard and wounding substance.

This is truly a task which often surpasses human strength. It forces us to look for support in that which is deepest and most firm within us, to turn to our deepest resources and certainties.

WE who believe as Christians should not be caught in complete unpreparedness by the adversity of these times. We know and we have always known that "every creature groans and travails in pain, even till now," as St. Paul says. We have known that the Cross, the instrument of our salvation and the symbol of our hope, is not a powerless image, a distant and almost unreal memory. We have known and experienced that it is thrust into the center of human history and into the heart of each of us. We have known or have had to know the necessity and the value of suffering and sacrifice that is nourished by love and gives birth to love.

We know that our hope and our joy burn like a flame on the tree of our pain and that all of human history is bloodily knotted with drama. This we have all known, but the majority of us are experiencing it only now.

Only now are we experiencing what it is to be alone, what a bitter taste the feeling of internal solitude and isolation has; the mortal agony of the Mount of Olives has become more intelligible to us. Only now are we experiencing what it is to stand defenseless before an evil will of iron, to look into the eyes of wilful deceit and icy hatred. Only now have we met—perhaps for the first time in the history of Christianity and in the history of mankind—the impossibility of testifying when the very motives for our deeds, our very intentions and thoughts, are cynically twisted and disfigured. The present-day Caesars do not want martyrs; all their efforts are directed to their victims' renunciation of the cause for which they testify, for which they are tortured, imprisoned and killed.

These are the bitter dregs of internal and external solitude which people perhaps have never yet known to such an extent and in such organized mercilessness. What a temptation to lose courage, to yield to despair.

But we who believe as Christians have also known that we do not stand alone; that it is up to us to make our suffering part of that agony on the Mount of Olives, to mix it to indistinguishability with the blood that flowed down the wood thrust into Golgotha. We have always known and now we are experiencing the fact that we can be abandoned only of our own volition, only when we ourselves refuse entrance into our solitude to Him who drank its cup to the bottom.

We know now more than ever that our solitude and our anguish are inhabited by Him. We also know that the most certain means to save our life is to give it in the depth of our heart to Him Who is its author and Who gave Himself until the last drop of His blood.

But above all we know that the endless time and infinite space embracing all generations and all men of good will hovers over the present time of our trial, that it now penetrates it from all sides. Its ray falls on our sore hearts, on the scarred face of our land. The sun rises over our heads and the stars glitter; young buds in the springtime shoot from the branches that seemed dead, and inextinguishable hope greets us in the eyes of the newborn. Our present anguish and our suffering are the seed from which new joy is already unrestrainably springing forth, the fruit of invincible love.

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Church and State in Guatemala

DANIEL JAMES

SCARCELY has Guatemala disposed of the Communist issue than she finds herself grappling with another issue of great magnitude, one that has long lain dormant but has now been thrust to the fore by the Communist experience: the problem of Church and State. Virtually proscribed and shorn of all temporal power eight decades ago, the Catholic Church, in the fifteen months since the Communist-dominated regime of Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán was overthrown, has risen as though from the dead to become once again a potent force in Guatemalan affairs. This has precipitated a conflict, which grows increasingly serious, between what may be broadly termed the clerical and anti-clerical camps.

The anti-clerical forces, who have ruled Guatemala without interruption for eighty-odd years through rightist and leftist periods alike, see in the emergent Church a threat to their dominance and—this view is held largely by left-wing anti-clericals—the danger of a general social, economic and political retreat into the past. The clerical party, on the other hand, claims to be seeking only the restoration to the Church of elementary rights hitherto denied it but accorded other accepted institutions of society, such as the right to own property, and further claims to be on the side of moderate reform.

Although the two parties have been engaged in bitter debate all year—specifically over several provisions affecting religion in the new constitution that is soon to go into effect—there is little likelihood that the religious conflict in Guatemala will assume the proportions it has in Argentina, at least not in the foreseeable future. The Argentine events have been having their impact on Guatemala, but the decisive difference in the two situations is that Guatemalan President Carlos Castillo Armas is not waging war upon the Church, as is Perón, but on the contrary, is well-disposed toward it. He is, however, jealous of the State's prerogatives and powers and has defended them against the Church whenever he has felt them threatened. Further, it is not excluded that the anti-clericals in the regime, who are strong and have tradition on their side, may gain the upper hand—an event which could lead to violence in a land with a history of violence.

Mr. James, formerly managing editor of the *New Leader*, has written extensively on Guatemala.

THE phenomenal rebirth of the Guatemalan Church which has led to the current conflict cannot be fully appreciated without some understanding of its past. Guatemala's independence from Spain in 1823 was accompanied by an anti-clerical reaction which seriously challenged the Church. This was followed, however, by a re-establishment and even expansion of Church power under the conservative dictatorship of Rafael Carrera, the illiterate Indian who in 1837 made himself first President of the Republic of Guatemala. Carrera was so utterly dedicated to the interests of the Church that the Indians called him "Son of God" and the Pope decorated him. But the fruits of his labors were short-lived: six years after his death in 1865 another anti-clerical reaction took place.

This one was violent, protracted and deep. In 1871 the Liberal party seized power and shortly thereafter a Carrera of its own, Justo Rufino Barrios, proclaimed himself dictator and promptly set out to destroy the Church as part of his program of modernizing Guatemala from head to foot. Barrios stripped the Church of every square acre of property, including houses of worship and monasteries as well as non-ecclesiastical possessions; to this day, Catholic edifices stand on ground owned by the State. He banished the Archbishop and dissolved all monastic orders and religious societies save the Sisters of Charity. He forbade religious instruction in the schools and Church "intervention" in politics. Priests were prohibited from wearing clerical garb in public. To crown it all, Barrios invited Protestant missionaries into Guatemala and gave them financial support.

Time mitigated somewhat the severity of Barrios' anti-clerical measures. The Archbishop was permitted to return, and later the Franciscans and American Maryknoll Fathers were allowed to operate missions. Then came the nationalist revolution of 1944, its capture by the Communists, and new attacks on the Church. The Constitution of 1945, which replaced Barrios', specifically outlawed international religious

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associations. Atheist as well as anti-Catholic propaganda flourished. While the Church barely kept alive with contributions from its impoverished communicants, its foes, particularly the Communists, were subsidized by the Government. To be a practicing Catholic in Guatemala during the decade 1944-54 was to risk ostracism and downright persecution.

Yet the rebirth of the Catholic Church of Guatemala dates precisely from that period of lowest ebb. The Communist advance represented the direst challenge to the Church, for it spelled the end of the last vestiges of Catholicism in Guatemala, and to this challenge the Church responded with a vigor that heartened its followers and confounded its opponents.

Under the leadership of Archbishop Mariano Rossell Arellano, a man of remarkable courage and moral authority who is yet humble and *simpatico,* the Church became an anti-Communist rallying point. Its fighting spirit infused the people with hope and strength and it gave unstintingly of its resources to the anti-Communist cause. Archbishop Rossell himself became the very symbol of resistance to Communism. At a time when to attack Communism might invite serious reprisal, he attacked with impunity. But so considerable was his moral strength and popularity that the Communists dared retort, as on the occasion of his Pastoral Letter of Easter 1954, with epithets no stronger than "lamentable."

After their victorious revolution, what could the anti-Communist leaders, who were predominantly anticlerical, do but acknowledge through word and deed their debt to the Church? If the new anti-Communist regime could not be pro-Church, it could be tolerant and foster an atmosphere of tolerance. For the first time, a Catholic newspaper was able to appear. A Catholic trade-union center was organized. Catholic deputies were elected to the Constituent Assembly. Priests appeared on the streets in cassocks. The President himself dramatized the new state of affairs upon the first anniversary of the Liberation last July 3, when he decorated the Archbishop before an audience of forty thousand as the first member of the new Order of the Liberation. The *abrazo* in which the two men were photographed caused a priest to comment: "There go the leaders of the Two Powers."

The Church is by no means a power co-equal with the State. But the priest's comment is an expression of wish-fulfillment that finds its echo throughout the Catholic hierarchy, and it is the possibility that wish may ultimately father the deed which gives anticlericals and Catholics who favor separation of the "Two Powers" sleepless nights.

None other than the Archbishop himself has revealed the Church's desire for co-equality with the State. Last May, he addressed a letter to the "Committee of 17," the Assembly committee which has been drafting the new constitution, demanding "pre-eminence" for the Catholic Church in the constitution. He sought in effect to have Catholicism declared the State religion and threatened, moreover, to take "a position of estrangement" if his demand were not granted. A storm of indignation arose. In the Assembly fist fights were narrowly averted. Even mild-mannered President Castillo Armas was aroused. He called a press conference and, in that quiet but steely manner which has earned him everyone's respect, pointed out that pre-eminence negated democracy since it implied inequality; then he added, repeating a favorite assertion of the Archbishop's, that Catholicism was already pre-eminent in the hearts of the Guatemalan people. Archbishop Rossell made no reply.

Castillo Armas' position carried in the Constituent Assembly, which has just ratified Article 51 of the new constitution guaranteeing "free exercise of all religions." Thus the Catholic claim to pre-eminence

is formally denied. But in losing that point Guatemalan Catholicism wins the important one which guarantees, for the first time, freedom for it and other religions to propagate their doctrines.

The Assembly has also passed another provision vital to Catholic interests, Article 50, which declares that religious institutions "may acquire and possess properties . . . provided they are devoted exclusively to religious ends, social aid or education." It remains for the Government to determine whether any of the Church's former properties shall revert to it. Private advices say that the Church may recover properties, including places of worship and monasteries but not farms, valued at around $11,000,000.

Still unresolved at this writing is one of the bigger bones of contention between pro- and anti-Church forces, education. In an interview with this writer, the Archbishop stated that Catholics do not seek control over education but only liberty to teach religion in the schools. He frankly believed, however, that the

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Church should have charge of education in the rural areas where secular facilities are lacking. The anti-clericals and secularists in general have been arguing that education should be confined entirely to secular matters, many adding that Catholic influence would be as bad as the previous Communist influence. After much debate, the Committee of 17 achieved a compromise and worded Article 92 to read that religious education "is not required by the State and is declared optative." This leaves the matter up to local officials, and represents another decided gain for the Church.

Passage of these three major constitutional measures is bound to accelerate the growth of Catholic influence in Guatemala. It not only lifts the more severe restrictions on the Church which have obtained for nearly a century but, for the first time since Carrera, ranges the State on the Church's side, however restrainedly. The question may fairly be asked whether the State is not preparing the way, willy nilly, for a return to the Church-dominated past, with all that this condition implies.

IT is important, at this point, to discuss the Church's attitude toward social questions, for if it is reactionary, as not a few Guatemalans hold, then there may really be a danger of a return to the past. But first, let us glance at the composition of the clerical and anti-clerical camps. Does the one represent reaction and the other progress?

Guatemalan anti-clericalism had its origin in both the Liberalism of Barrios and the wave of liberal thought which swept over Latin America during the nineteenth century. The two currents did not always make for enlightened action. Contemporary Guatemalan anti-clericalism can certainly not be termed liberal in our sense of the word, and cannot even be defined politically, for it cuts across party lines. The Liberal party which gave birth to anti-clericalism is now a party of the right, while the new forces of the left are also anti-clerical. Thus the reactionary military dictatorship of General Ubico which led to the "progressive" totalitarianism of Presidents Arevalo and Arbenz was Liberal and anti-clerical, even as Arevalo and Arbenz claimed to be liberal and anti-clerical. Today the ranks of those fighting the Church include Ubiquistas, Arevalistas, Arbencistas and even Castillo Armasistas. It would strain logic to regard them all as liberals in the American sense. Indeed, to the extent that they desire to perpetuate illiberal statutes passed eighty years ago by an unenlightened despot they can be called reactionary.

The composition of the Catholic party is similarly mixed. On the right are the *cachurecos*—feudal-minded landowners and aristocrats—who long for a Carrera. On the left are labor leaders, lawyers and scholars. In the middle stands a sizable group which generally follows the middle-road policies of the Government. For an authoritative summary of the Church's position one must turn to its leading spokesman, Archbishop Rossell.

During our interview the Archbishop asserted that he favors a program of moderate reform and referred me, for amplification, to his pastoral letters of April and July 1954. In the former he not only condemned Communism, as already noted, but also the "abuses deriving from excessive possession of property" and called for "a program of genuine social recovery." In the latter he warned against using the overthrow of the Communists as an excuse to deprive workers of their rights and peasants of their land and urged that, on the contrary, they be granted all the demands made in the encyclicals of Leo XIII, Pius XI and Pius XII. Thus the voice which was raised against the Communist evil is raised also against the evils that nurture Communism and insists upon the enactment of ideas which are universally regarded by Catholics as socially advanced. In the judgment of this writer, who is not a Catholic, the Guatemalan Church is proving to be a force for progress and so the situation here, though by no means perfect, is better than it is in many other Latin American countries.

What we are witnessing in Guatemala is not just the rebirth of the Catholic Church but the birth of a social revolution. So long as the canker of religious discrimination and persecution ate away at the foundations of Guatemalan society, that society could never become healthy and democratic no matter what social and economic experiments were attempted. Now the State—which is to say, Castillo Armas—is not only redressing the balance in regard to the Church but is removing the canker; it is not only permitting the Catholic and other religions freedom for the first time in nearly a century but is making possible the development of a healthy society and true democracy. Undoubtedly Church and State will disagree with each other from time to time, but the basic and essential compromises made this year should lessen if not altogether eliminate the danger of violent clashes. They might even pave the way for that era of civil peace which Guatemala sorely needs in order to make freedom secure and democracy real.

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Labor Union Pluralism

MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

IN a recent paper on unionism in India, Professor Van Dusen Kennedy of the University of California advises the Indian labor movement to exclude minority unions from bargaining and other industrial relations rights. One weakness of the Indian movement, he says, is the large number of small, ineffective, unions which exist through political support and through being able, in effect, to blackmail those unions and firms which are making a real effort for stable industrial relations. He thinks that the Indian labor movement should insist that to win representation rights a union must have a majority vote of the workers in the bargaining unit it claims to represent; then there may be some hope of solid and responsible unions with their base in industry and not in the political parties.

British trade unionists might differ about the means, but hardly about the end. There are still plenty of places in British industry where two or more unions with bargaining rights compete for the same workers. In the rail strike last spring, the speed and route you traveled by depended on how many of the drivers in each depot were in the craft union, the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and how many in the industrial National Union of Railwaymen; the former was on strike, the latter not. But British unions have for many years made it their goal to clear up this confusion by defining spheres of influence and putting a stop to poaching.

A farm worker may be in either the Transport and General Workers' or the Agricultural Workers' Union, but you will not today find branches of both in the same village. In the "Blue Union" dispute on the docks a couple of months ago there was no question of a majority vote to decide which union was to have representative rights in each port. The T.U.C.'s ruling was simple: "No poaching!"

On these matters British and American practice differs sharply from that in Europe, and especially from that part of Europe where the Christian workers' movement is strong. The Christian movements agree, of course, that it is important for the workers in a given bargaining unit to speak with one voice. But the road to this does not, as they see it, lie through a majority decision conferring exclusive bargaining rights. It lies through collaboration between unions which continue to sail under their own flag, and through works councils or social security boards on which each "tendency" is represented in proportion to workers' votes.

It should be said that the Christian movements are perfectly aware of the difficulties and disadvantages of working in this way, particularly in countries where a large part of the workers' movement is Communist-dominated and unlikely to collaborate honestly. It is significant that in France, where the difficulties due to inter-union divisions have been greatest, a large and growing minority in the Christian unions wants to drop specifically "Christian" unionism and establish a British or American type federation covering at least all non-Communist trade unionists. But it is even more significant that, in spite of these difficulties, the majority of French Christian trade unionists still think plural unionism worth its price.

In Italy "unified" unions were tried after the war, but broke up in 1948-50 into what in effect are Communist, Christian-Democratic (with a Socialist and Liberal minority), and laicist-democratic unions. In Germany unity has collapsed in the case of white-collar workers, the majority of whom have left the D.G.B., some for an independent and some (rather fewer) for two Christian unions. It lives on among hand workers, but with more and more disgruntlement among at least a section of those who are Catholic. At the conference of the Catholic Workers' International at Düsseldorf a few weeks ago Johannes Even, General Secretary of the German Catholic Workers' Movement, spoke in no uncertain terms of the "failure" of attempts to work inside the unified D.G.B. It may or may not be a coincidence that he has since been made a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory.

In Austria unity works fairly well, but only because the Christian workers are recognized and accepted as a distinct, organized, fraction within the unified unions, with their own machinery, policy, candidates at plant elections, and independent political affiliation. In Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland unification has never been a serious question.

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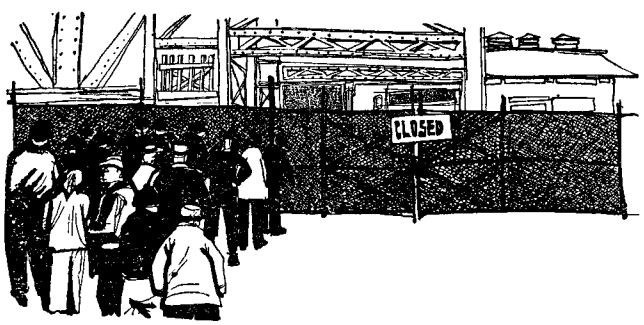
WHAT makes plural unionism, or distinct organized fractions, seem so worth while? Sometimes it is a matter of bare survival. French and Italian Christian, Socialist, and Liberal workers had to get out from under Communist domination if they were to have any voice in union affairs at all.

There are times and places when Communists can be run out of union office by action from within; I suppose the most dramatic case in recent years is that of Australia, though there the Catholic-led "Industrial Groups" overreached themselves in the end. But there has to be the right sort of public and worker opinion to appeal to, and the right sort of support from governments. French and Italian workers cannot be blamed for feeling that only independent unions would let them stand up to the Communist environment, or for judging their respective governments very much as Samuel Gompers did the American state legislatures of sixty or seventy years ago. And their independent unions could hardly have succeeded as they did had they not been able to claim industrial relations rights from the start, even where they did not yet have a majority.

Even where there is no question of survival or of democracy, there is a question of culture. The Christian workers' movements are not primarily interested in (Gompers again) "more and more and more." They want that, too. But first and foremost they want to shape Christian personalities: they see the worker as a man, only incidentally as a stomach. And they believe they are most likely to shape personalities in the right way if, at every moment when big decisions have to be made, a man finds himself advised, backed, and rubbing shoulders with a body of other men with Christian principles like his own. He will learn to live his principles most fully, and will live them so as to be most impressive and convincing to other people, if he does so as a member of a group, not simply on his own. And it must be a group which functions, not in the background, but at the point where decisions are taken. A Catholic Action training group is not enough: there must be a Christian union.

This argument may apply with less force in countries where people's cultural level is in any case high, and where there are strong and well-organized Catholic Action or corresponding Protestant organizations to train and advise the individual before he goes into his (neutral) union meeting. (The Dutch and Belgian Christian workers' movements, Protestant as well as Catholic, would deny even this; they say the argument for specifically Christian unions holds even in advanced countries like their own.) But there is in any case no question that the argument for Christian unions is strong in lands where the cultural level is low, the development of personality has still far to go, and the background training organizations are weak.

ALL this brings me back to Professor Kennedy. The question his advice to the Indian labor movement really raises is this. Is the situation in developing countries, such as he is dealing with, more like that envisaged by the Anglo-Saxon workers' movements or by the Christian movements? The question is a practical one, for in North, West, and Central Africa, in Madagascar and other Indian Ocean and Pacific islands, in Viet Nam, and in a number of countries of Latin America, affiliates of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions are at work alongside of—in fact often well ahead of—those of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions or the Communist W.F.T.U.



My own judgment is that it is often the Christian movements which will prove to have the right perspective. It is precisely in these countries that a trade union group which wishes to survive and to make itself felt will be best advised to rely on its own strong and, if necessary, independent right arm. If the majority in a unified union is dictatorial or irresponsible, it will often be a waste of time in these countries to look for support from enlightened public opinion, which has still to be created, or from sound labor legislation and experienced administrators. And it is just in these countries also that cultural formation needs priority over the simple demand for "more"; not least because, without it, demands for more are unlikely to do much good.

Unity in representing workers' interests in a given bargaining unit is necessary, and I grant Professor Kennedy that often there are indeed too many splinter unions which serve no useful purpose; I could cite some lurid examples from other parts of the Commonwealth. But it is throwing out the baby with the bathwater to secure unity of representation by abolishing the representation of minorities altogether. The real problem is to secure it and also to preserve the diversity of independent unions, or (as in Austria) of organized fractions within unions, which the healthy development of many of the newer workers' movements demands.

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THE SCREEN

MEAD IN YOUR EYE

ENGLAND is lovely at this time of year—or at least it was last week when I was there to celebrate a new TV series, "The Adventures of Robin Hood." Some sixty critics from all over the United States were flown over on this junket and I'm not sure whether we were more interested in the British-made "Robin Hood" series, which is the first TV show to be seen simultaneously in the U.S., Canada and England, or in the fact that England will now have its first commercial TV (to be handled quite differently from ours; there will be spot commercials instead of whole programs' being sponsored by an advertiser).

The Robin Hood stories are a natural for TV. Weekly episodes will appear in this country, and from the two installments we saw, our twelfth-century hero could very well become as popular over here as Davy Crockett or the Lone Ranger. The stories are somewhat naive, but Richard Greene plays Robin with a nice sense of humor and plenty of dash; and Bernadette O'Farrell makes an extremely attractive Maid Marian.

The English went out of their way to fete the American journalists in London and in the Robin Hood country. Sherwood Forest proved to be no more exciting than a run-of-the-mill American Forest Preserve, but nearby Newstead Abbey, where Byron lived, is most handsome; and the dinner in Nottingham with all the officials and their ladies, including His Lordship the Mayor and the Sheriff (a nice old man, not at all like his twelfth-century predecessor) was indeed impressive. So was the medieval dinner served at the Nettlefold Studios at Walton-on-Thames where the "Robin Hood" films are being made. The Americans guzzled the mead and ate peacock and boar and swan as if they had them every day at home.

I NOTICED that the cinemas in England were showing practically the same and almost as many American pictures as we have here. They were also showing English films—some of which are scheduled to be on our screens soon. If you like a good, substantial, documentary-type film, no matter where it's made, you'll find "The Dam Busters" fills the bill. It tells the stories of two quite different but imaginative Englishmen whose combined efforts helped to shorten World War II. The first, a scientist (expertly played by Michael Redgrave) invents a skip bomb that can destroy the Ruhr dams; and the second, a Wing Commander (equally well played by Richard Todd) forms, trains and leads the fliers who drop the bombs. Director Michael Anderson has handled the screenplay by R. C. Sherriff in a straightforward, step-by-step manner with as little sloppy sentiment or detracting hokum as possible; and the finished film, after getting off to what seems like a slow and talky start, is exciting. Perhaps it's especially suspenseful because of its understatement in the good acting and the factual tone of the whole movie, but "The Dam Busters" illustrates well how thrilling a movie can be without blowing its top, a lesson that we in this country might well learn.

THE English have also turned up with a very handsome Eastman Color Production of *Trilby,* George Du Maurier's famous story about the artists' model and the hypnotist which excited readers in the gay and easily-excitable nineties. Scriptwriter-director Noel Langley wisely made no attempt to modernize the melodramatic tale (other than to rename it "Svengali" after the villain) and the total effect is that of a nice, lush, plush period piece. What with the advent of Freud and psychosomatic medicine, we are likely to get less steamed up now about a carefree model who allows a hypnotist to cure her headaches and finally becomes, under his continued treatments, the world's greatest singer. Without hamming it up too much, Donald Wolfit makes an evilly sinister Svengali, and Hildegarde Neff is properly pretty and gauche as his victim. Elisabeth Schwarzkopf's beautiful singing is dubbed in for the appropriate scenes when Svengali guides his Trilby through Europe's great concert halls. Even the episodes showing the artists and models acting as Bohemian as all get-out in Paris carry a certain conviction; and movie-goers who enjoy the revival of an old dodo are going to get a kick out of this remake.

AND they may also get a vicarious thrill out of "Footsteps in the Fog," another nicely-made period piece in which Stewart Granger and Jean Simmons play crooks-of-a-feather who spend most of the plot trying to outsmart each other. Based on a W. W. Jacobs short story, this will remind many viewers of more modern thrillers like "Dial M for Murder" and "The Late Edwina Black" but they will still enjoy seeing Stewart and Jean creep in and out of murder as they continue on their diabolic paths. Since none of the leads are particularly sympathetic, one is likely to review the proceedings somewhat coldly, but as a well-acted, handsomely Technicolored exercise in crime, "Footsteps in the Fog" holds one's interest.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Writing in the Welfare State

HERBERT HOWARTH

THE British do not have a Welfare State, although the world has attached the name to them. They are on the road towards Welfare, have breathed the air, but have not decided whether to complete the journey. Although the "new Conservatives" have accepted the fact that some standards of Welfare must be kept up governmentally, and perhaps will not go back on the experiments now running, nevertheless the electoral fluctuations of the last ten years have basically turned on the issue of whether Britain wants more welfare and equality, or adventure and competition. British writers, too, are concerned with this issue, though not in such straightforward terms: it has subtly shaped their matter and manner for two generations; it may also, they think, affect the perennial writer's problem of creating while earning a livelihood, though they do not see much sign of this yet.

Nearly thirty years ago there was a crisis in Britain. At the moment it is a forgotten crisis, because history is seldom interested in the last generation. But when eventually the documents are mobilized, the General Strike of 1926, which brought all Unionized work to a stop and led to clashes in the streets, at pitheads, and factory-gates, will be recognised as a contemporary Civil War that was gutted just before it exploded.

Up to the General Strike and immediately after it the writers of the twenties who clearly concerned themselves with political conduct were those who commanded wide audiences but had second-rate creative gifts—Shaw, Wells, and one might add Galsworthy and Bennett. For writers of a higher sensitivity literature meant an inner experience crystallizing in images, either the exotic and slightly absurd images of the Sitwells, or, in more serious writers, a lighthouse, a burning city, a boat responding to oar and sail. But when the strikers of 1926 had gone under to old-fashioned conservatism and—according to an Indian observer who has since become Prime Minister in New Delhi—the morale of the Labor movement in Britain slumped, their cause which had failed on the level of action was taken up in the writing of a new age-group just coming out of the universities. From then on throughout the thirties the dominant idea in serious writing in Britain became the redressal of the inequalities of the social scheme, with the dark implication that the coming war would terminate human affairs abruptly before anything could be put right—and as a penalty for not putting things right sooner.

When the war came it actually elicited, instead of the sense of penalty, a courageous sense of the pleasure and possibilities of living. Bit by bit it roused a public willingness to explore man's capabilities. To what extent could society be planned for the general welfare? The nation called on its leaders and its writers to suggest answers to this and cognate problems. The radio game of the epoch was the "Brains' Trust": millions of listeners regularly heard teams of public figures pool their answers on questions of politics and morality. Many kinds of writing can be found in the publishing of the years 1941-1947 (at that date there was a marked time-lag between a book's acceptance and its publication, and many 1947 books are still "wartime books"), but the dominant kind belongs to the Brains' Trust stream of thinking and its concern is the amelioration of man's lot. The British voters were acting on the impulses which had led to and been developed in the Brains' Trust epoch and its literature when they invited Labor to try its Welfare policy in the election of 1945.

Now, just as writers swerved away from the victorious Conservatism of 1926, similarly, soon after the Labor victory of 1945, they began to swerve away from the ameliorationist position. Poetry grew more religious and less political, more formal and less free, more complimentary and decorative. Novelists turned to picaresque and to farce. By 1955 that process has reached a point of high elaboration. We have a new Restoration Literature in Britain.

WHAT about the practical side of writing? One thing has been done for the arts in the gropings towards the Welfare State. During the war the Arts Council was created, the late Lord Keynes being its most active sponsor with the Government. It still exists, and seems set to go on existing, and its business is to disburse a Government subsidy for the encouragement of the creation and the performance of works of art of all kinds. It has assured Britain superb opera, superb theater, superb exhibitions of the world's painting and sculpture. It has concerned it-

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self, however, more with performance than with creation, and it has devoted only a peck of its funds to the support of writers. What it has done for literature amounts to the following:—it has established a few modest awards for poetry, organized a Poetry Book Society, and sent teams of verse-speaking teams around the country. Except for the launching by the Cheltenham Festival of Contemporary Literature of an annual award for a novel, it has done nothing for writers of novels, stories, essays, criticism.

The cultivation of verse-speaking has been the Arts Council's best effort for literature. In hundreds of communities visited by its teams a step has been taken to bring poet and public together again, and the older function of a poem, to be a pleasure to the ear rather than to the eye, has been revived. As this work continues, it promises to win a new audience for poetry. Reciprocally, poets like Cecil Day Lewis have learned ways in which a poem cannot and can communicate, by the actual test of speaking their poetry to diverse general audiences. All this is valuable. Only it is not enough.

Let us look at an organization which has operated almost wholly in favor of writers, the British Broadcasting Corporation. When Dylan Thomas lectured here, he had a standard crack: "In the past a poet used to run away to sea. Now he runs away to the B.B.C." He himself owed a great deal to the B.B.C. for carrying his golden cantando to his public; and many writers have found it a useful, stimulating, and moderately remunerative addition to their media. A number of them, such as Louis Macneice and Terence Tiller, have found it a satisfying employer of their full time: its technical problems, and its problem of entertaining a wide listening public, have sharpened their powers.

Independently administered, the Corporation is a British anomaly. It is not a state-enterprise, yet it is nearly so. It is never the voice of any one Government, yet it is always the voice of government. It has existed a generation longer than the Arts Council, and in that time has revolutionized the appreciation of music in Britain, ruined the British dialects but heightened the national understanding of words, done a great deal for drama and something for verse, created a public taste for talks on subjects as specialist as astronomy, archaeology, anthropology. As regards books, the publishers complain that it allots insufficient time to reviewing, but in fact it does some reviewing, and, much more than that, it helps the book-trade by bringing authors as speakers and guests before microphone and camera; above all, as a vital educative force it is forming an ever-increasing audience for books that could at one time have appealed only to restricted circles.

Yet the B.B.C. has not the program time to provide scope for all, or even for many, writers. As it gets

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older it seems to get slower in finding new script-men and speakers. This does not stem from policy; on the contrary, there is a genuine cry all the time for "new voices." It simply happens as a matter of human nature that once a producer has found enough writers to meet his schedules, he sticks to them, and shrinks from the risk of accepting someone different proposing programs different in kind, in accent, in subject, from those that have been customary.

There are, however, factors arising to prevent ossification. The B.B.C. may be rejuvenated this fall when a competitor appears in the shape of Commercial TV—now sanctioned in Britain, but under stringent governmental controls, for the first time. As Commercial TV begins with a sense that its critics doubt its educational value, it will almost certainly go out of its way during its three years of probation to be an effective educational and cultural force; and the B.B.C. must consequently activise itself to keep level.

The real problem of the writer in any society is the problem of the new writer. Has he outlets for his rebellion and his innovations at the early period when they should be tested by exposure to public reaction? He needs periodicals where editors will print his stories or his verse and a large enough public will read them. Here Britain is ill-equipped. The welfare agencies do not produce writers' magazines; private capital produces very few.

Perhaps there are half a dozen monthlies that count, and inevitably they have little space for the newcomer. A number of weekly papers of world reputation have notable review pages, but scarcely any room for creative work. There is a fringe of "small reviews" which publish interesting work, but they have no circulation.

Real help comes to the writer from the book publishers. They are a ruthlessly individualistic, competitive crowd. These very characteristics make them determined hunters of authors. One of them I know writes to every young man whose name comes to his atttention inquiring whether he has a manuscript ready or in the making. And at least fifty more of the four hundred British publishers are equally assiduous. If the inquiry brings back a book or half-a-book, the publisher's editors will go to endless pains to make it fit for the market, or to encourage the writer to a second work in its place.

I admire the drive of the British publishers, and my only criticism of their practice would be that they inflict too much rewriting on their growing authors. They tailor a new book to their sense of the shape it should take, and that usually means to the prevailing norm; and in doing this they may cut away valuable material that happens to be unfashionable. Under this dispensation *Tristram Shandy* or the Proust annals would never get into print as the writer wrote them. "Please ask Mr. Sterne if he would care to re-write . . . " would be the directive. Whereas real publishing is to publish an unorthodox book while the author is still unknown, as Ben Huebsch of New York did with *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in 1917.

BUT whatever its quirks (and I should add in fairness that the "re-write" quirk came as an importation from New York) British publishing does a magnificent job, producing results to the measure of eighteen thousand titles annually, and a large proportion of these represent new creative and scholarly work. The figures have been steadily rising, and cries of "over-production" have not stopped them. Apparently it is a correlate of this intensive production that we have today more *good average* novels (perhaps not more *great* novels), more good average history and criticism, and more sensible comment on current affairs, than ever before.

With the publishers so impatient for him, the British author who can get as far as completing a full-length book has fair prospects. But how to find time and means to complete the first book, that is the critical question for him unless he is one of the few, one of the remaining very few, who have fortunes. As long as the present dearth of good, paying magazines continues, his only answer can be to do full-time work of some other kind and write at midnight, dawn, and weekends. T. S. Eliot has, of course, been telling young men for thirty years that this is what is good for them: that it gives them the solid experience without which writing is null.

Supposing that the public mood changes again in Britain, as I think it must in five to ten years' time, and we then go further toward the Welfare State, what, if anything, will be done to improve the situation for writers? I expect that very little will be done. The view will be taken that writers will suffer if they are featherbedded, and that they should continue to work out their own solutions in the traditional tangle with the publishers, who, for related reasons, will not be nationalized. Something, however, could and just conceivably may be done to launch periodicals in the interest of the creative writer, the method being to establish trust-funds, independently administered and the editors entirely independent.

At present Britain suffers from the vicious circle "No audience for magazines, no magazines." It is no use waiting for the spontaneous generation of a magazine-public. But it is technically possible to provide the magazines first, candidly accepting the fact that there will be no ready-made readership to buy them. If this is done, a public for magazines may develop in response.

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